DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 482 784 FL 801 586

AUTHOR	Lehman, Dan Van; Eno, Omar
TITLE	The Somali Bantu: Their History and Culture. Culture Profile.
INSTITUTION	Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, DC. Language and Orientation Resource Center.
SPONS AGENCY	Department of State, Washington, DC. Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration.
REPORT NO	No-16
PUB DATE	2003-00-00
NOTE	40p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Cultural Orientation Resource Center, Center for Applied Linguistics, 4646 40th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20016-1859. Tel: 202-362-0700; Fax: 202-362-3740; e-mail: info@cal.org; Web site: http://www.cal.org.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Moral Values; *Bantu Languages; *Cultural Differences; Dialects; Dietetics; Elementary Secondary Education; English (Second Language); Females; Foreign Countries; Interpersonal Communication; Literacy Education; *Refugees; Relocation; Second Language Learning; Slavery
IDENTIFIERS	*Bantu Peoples; Refugee Camps; Somalia; *Somalis

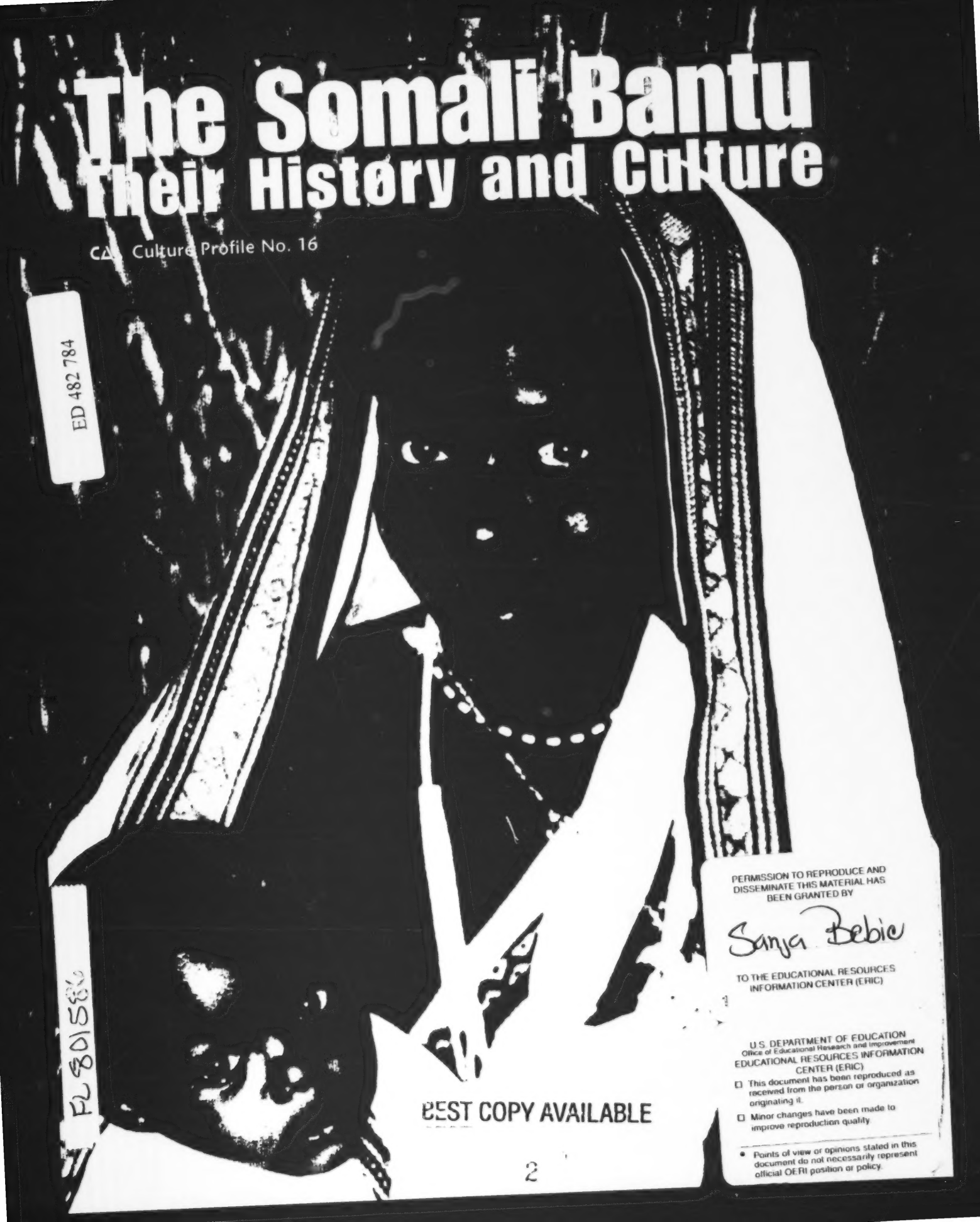
ABSTRACT

This booklet is a basic introduction to the people, history, and cultures of the Somali Bantu. It is designed primarily for service providers and others assisting Somali Bantu refugees in their new communities in the United States. It focuses on: "Introduction"; "Land"; "People" (place in society and social structures); "History" (colonial period, slavery, social impact of slavery, after slavery, 20th century, civil war, in refugee camps, and post-civil war); "Religious Life"; "Daily Life and Values" (family life, marriage and children, community life, festivities and ceremonies, diet, dress, and art, literature and music); "Language and Literacy" (Af Maay dialect and literacy); "Education"; "Resettlement Challenges" (housing, work and finances, health care, mental health, education, learning English, style of communication, special needs of women, and relations between Bantu and other Somalis); and "Af Maay Glossary." (Adjunct ERIC Clearinghouse for ESL Literacy Education.) (Contains 23 references.) (SM)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

The Somali Bantu
Their History and Culture

CAL Culture Profile No. 16



ED 482 784

FL801586

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Sanja Bebic

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

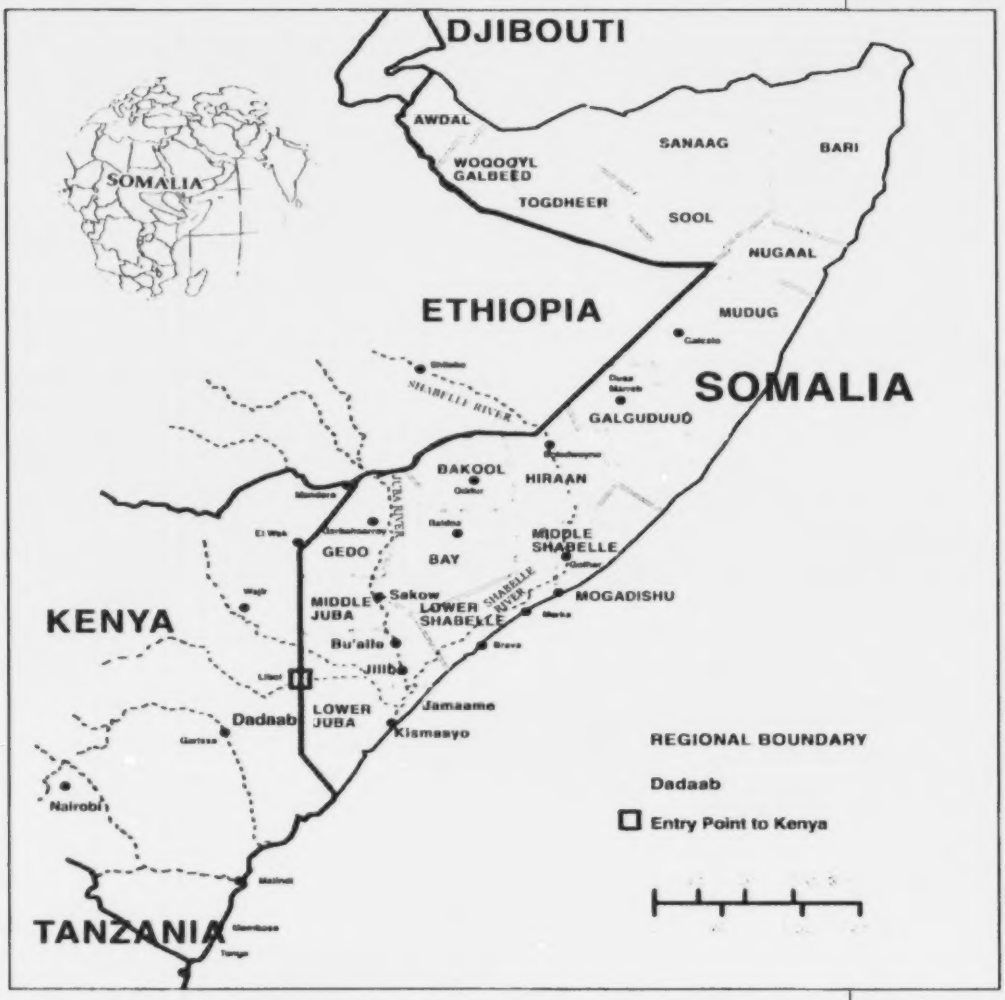
Culture Profile No. 16
February 2003

The Somali Bantu
Their History and Culture

Dan Van Lehman
Omar Eno

CAL Published by the Center for Applied Linguistics
The Cultural Orientation Resource Center
Center for Applied Linguistics
4646 40th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20016-1859

Tel. (202) 362-0700
Fax (202) 362-3740
http://www.culturalorientation.net
http://www.cal.org



The contents of this book were developed under an agreement financed by the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, United States Department of State, but do not necessarily represent the policy of that agency and should not assume endorsement by the Federal Government.

This book was published by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL), but the opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect positions or policies of CAL.

Editorial/production supervision: Anne Costello
Copyediting: Don Ranard, Sharyl Tanck
Cover photo: Sasha Chanoff and the International Organization for Migration, Nairobi, Kenya, 2002
Cover and interior design, illustration, production: SAGARTdesign, 2003

©2003 by the Center for Applied Linguistics
The U.S. Department of State reserves a royalty-free, nonexclusive and irrevocable right to reproduce, publish, or otherwise use, and to authorize others to use, the work for Government purposes.

All other rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, without permission in writing from the publisher. All inquiries should be addressed to the Cultural Orientation Resource Center, Center for Applied Linguistics, 4646 40th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Preface

This booklet is a basic introduction to the people, history, and cultures of the Somali Bantu. It is designed primarily for service providers and others assisting Somali Bantu refugees in their new communities in the United States.

The principal writers are Daniel Van Lehman and Omar Eno. Mr. Van Lehman is on the faculty in the Hatfield School of Government at Portland State University in Portland, Oregon, and a board member with the Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization. He was a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) field officer in the Dagahaley Refugee Camp from 1992 to 1994 when the UNHCR first tried to resettle the Bantu to Tanzania. He was again hired by the UNHCR in 1997 to help seek resettlement for the Bantu refugees to Mozambique. His master's thesis promotes the concept of intra-Africa resettlement for African refugees using the Somali Bantu as the case study. Since 1992, Mr. Van Lehman has advocated for protection through resettlement for the Somali Bantu refugees. He has spoken at conferences and authored many articles on their plight and potential.

Mr. Eno is a Ph.D. candidate in history at York University in Toronto, Canada. His dissertation is on "Slavery, Stigma, and Legacy: the Case of the Wazigwa Diaspora and the Indigenous Bantu/Jareer People in Southern Somalia (1850-2000)." He is deeply committed to bringing the attention of the international community to Bantu issues, and he regularly travels and works in East Africa. He is also one of the first Bantu to advocate in an international forum for civil and human rights on behalf of the Bantu people in Somalia. He is a member of several international academic organizations such as the African Studies Association, the Inter–riverine Studies Association, and the Somali Studies International Association, and he is the cofounder of the Bantu Rehabilitation Trust in Nairobi, Kenya.

Several people read and commented on drafts of the manuscript. In particular, we would like to thank: Ann Kasper, Refugee Education Specialist with Portland Regional Educational Telecommunications Corporation; Pindie Stephen, Sasha Chanoff, and Abdi Kadir Sheikh Abdullahi, all from IOM/Kenya; the Bantu elders of the Dadaab refugee camps; Catherine Besteman, Associate Professor of Anthropology at Colby College; Francesca Declich, with the Istituto Universitario Orientale in Italy; and Kelly Gauger, Program Officer in the Admissions office at the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration.

We would also like to thank Eng. Ahmed Q. Ali, an independent Somali researcher based in Phoenix, AZ; Ahmed Mohamed Ali (Nyanyurow); Mohamed Adan Ibrahim (Farkeeti); Catherine Besteman; Francesca Declich; Lee Cassanelli, Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania; Mohamed Abdulkadir Eno, Ph.D. student at St. Clement University; and IOM/Kenya for allowing us to use some of their materials.

We would also like to express our appreciation to Donald Ranard for his thorough and timely copyediting and proofreading assistance, and to Vincent Sagart for his design expertise.

Finally, we would like to thank the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration of the U.S. Department of State, whose support made this culture profile possible.

6

Table of Contents

Introduction 1
Land 2
People 3
Place in Society 4
Social Structures 4
Economy 5
History 6
Colonial Period 7
Slavery 7
Social Impact of Slavery 8
After Slavery 9
20th Century 9
Civil War 10
In Refugee Camps 10
Post-Civil War 12
Religious Life 13
Daily Life and Values 14
Family Life 15
Marriage and Children 15
Community Life 16
Festivities and Ceremonies 16
Diet 17
Dress 18
Art, Literature, Music 18
Language and Literacy 18
Af Maay Dialect 19
Literacy 21
Education 22
Resettlement Challenges 23
Housing 24
Work and Finances 24
Health Care 24
Mental Health 25
Education 26
Learning English 26
Style of Communication 26
Special Needs of Women 27
Relations Between Bantu and Other Somalis 27
Af Maay Glossary 28
Bibliography 30

Introduction

In Africa, the Bantu-speaking peoples make up a major part of the population of nearly all African countries south of the Sahara. They belong to over 300 groups, each with its own language or dialect. Groups vary in size from a few hundred to several million. Among the best-known are the Kikuyu, the largest group in Kenya; the Swahili, whose language is spoken throughout eastern Africa; and the Zulu of South Africa.

The Somali Bantu can be subdivided into distinct groups. There are those who are indigenous to Somalia, those who were brought to Somalia as slaves from Bantu-speaking tribes but integrated into Somali society, and those who were brought to Somalia as slaves but maintained, to varying degrees, their ancestral culture, Bantu languages, and sense of southeast African identity. It is this last group of Bantu refugees that has particularly suffered persecution in Somalia and that is therefore in need of protection through resettlement. These Bantu originally sought resettlement to Tanzania in 1993 and 1994, and to Mozambique in 1997 and 1998, before they were considered for resettlement in the United States in 1999.

As a persecuted minority group in Somalia, the Bantu refugees had endured continual marginalization in Somalia since their arrival as slaves in the 19th century.

As a persecuted minority group in Somalia, the Bantu refugees had endured continual marginalization in Somalia since their arrival as slaves in the 19th century. Although they have lived in Somalia for approximately two centuries, the Bantu are, in many ways, viewed and treated as foreigners. This history, coupled with their cultural, linguistic, and physical differences, distinguishes them from other Somali refugees who have been resettled in the United States. The culture of subjugation under which most of them have lived may present special challenges to their American resettlement case workers.

Today, an estimated 300 Somali Bantu live in the United States. Of these, some have come as students, others have accompanied spouses or other family members, and a few have been resettled as refugees. The Somali Bantu, like other refugee groups, have tended to concentrate in urban areas. One of the largest concentrations is in Atlanta, Georgia, where the Bantu have established a community association, the Somali Bantu Community Organization, to assist newly resettled Somali Bantu refugees.

The total number of Somalis living in the United States is estimated at 150,000, of whom about 40,000 are Somali refugees from the dominant clans. With tens of thousands of Somalis, Minneapolis has the largest Somali community in the United States. Other metropolitan areas with large numbers of Somalis include Columbus, Ohio, New York City, Washington, D.C., Boston, San Diego, Atlanta, and Detroit. (For more information on Somalia in general, please see the Center for Applied Linguistics' Culture Profile on Somali refugees.)

Before the U.S. resettlement offer and faced with the prospect of indefinite residency in the refugee camps, some Bantu refugee families may have felt compelled to send members back to Somalia to try and claim their former farms.

However, when asked in 1996 if Bantu refugees were still determined to resettle, a Bantu elder affirmed emphatically, "We didn't know what freedom was; we have been let out of the cage and we don't want to go back in."

Land

Situated on the coast of east Africa, Somalia encompasses approximately 246,000 square miles, making it about the size of Texas. Only about 10% of this territory is arable and irrigable. Out of this arable land, an estimated 1,729,000 acres is cultivated, and most of this cultivated land is located in Bantu-inhabited regions. The entire southern region's climate can be categorized as semi-arid, with an average maximum temperature ranging between 85° F to 105° F and minimum temperatures between 68° F and 85° F.

The Bantu primarily inhabit the interriverine area of southern Somalia, where most live in the vicinity of either the Shabelle or Juba Rivers.

The Bantu primarily inhabit the interriverine area of southern Somalia, where most live in the vicinity of either the Shabelle or Juba Rivers. These rivers originate in the Ethiopian highlands and generally run southwards through the bottom half of Somalia. The Juba River flows out to the Indian Ocean just north of Kismayu while the Shabelle River ends in a series of swamp basins. In years of high rainfall in Ethiopia, the Shabelle River may merge with the Juba River in the far south of Somalia.

In this profile, we are concerned with the Bantu group from along the Juba River. The Bantu in the Juba River valley can be further divided between those living in the lower Juba River Valley (villages primarily south of Jilib) and those living in the middle Juba River valley (primarily villages from Jilib in the south to Buale in the north).

The Juba region is a fertile agricultural land mass stretching between the Kenyan border to the west and the Indian Ocean to the east. Unlike the Shabelle River, which usually dries up from January to March, the Juba River is permanent and is capable of irrigating about 150,000 ha (370,500 acres) of land. Land, particularly farmland, is the one of the most important possessions in the river valley and its environs. Farmland, known locally as *dhooboy* (muddy land), is the most arable land in Somalia.

Another source of water for farming is rainfall, which is scarce in some seasons. Most of the Juba River valley receives about 24 inches of rain per year. There are two rainy seasons in this region that correspond with the river's high points, which, combined with water from the Juba River, allows farmers to grow crops throughout the year. Most farmers in the region practice a mixed farming system, as rain-fed land mainly provides sorghum and beans. As a result, farmers tend to exploit the recession of river flooding from the adjoining *dhesheeg*, or depression, along the Juba River. This makes the Bantu-occupied areas of the Juba River valley extremely productive—and valuable—and thus the backbone of agricultural production for national and international markets in southern Somalia.

People

Many Bantu refugees can trace their origins back to ancestors in southeast African tribes who were enslaved in the 18th century by agents of the Sultanate of Zanzibar. These ancestral tribes include, among others, the Makua and Yao of southern Tanzania and northern Mozambique; the Ngindo of southern Tanzania; the Nya[illegible]of southern Tanzania, northern Mozambique, and northern Malawi; and the Zaramo and Zigua of northeast Tanzania. Other southeast African tribes represented among the Bantu refugees include the Digo, Makale, Manyawa, Nyamwezi, and Nyika.

The Bantu slated for resettlement, especially those who fled the once forested Juba River valley, are politely referred to as *Wagosha* ("people of the forest") or *Jareer* (term used to describe Africans with hard or kinky hair). Derogatory terms to describe the Somali Bantu include *adoon* and *habash*, which translate as "slave." Some Somalis also call the Bantu *ooji*, which in Italian means "today"and refers to the Somali's perception of the Bantu as lacking the ability to think beyond the moment. The Bantu refugees generally refer to themselves simply as the Bantu. Those who trace their origins to an east African tribe refer to themselves collectively as Shanbara, Shangama, or Wagosha. Those Bantu refugees with very strong cultural and linguistic ties to southeast Africa refer to themselves as *Mushunguli* or according to their east African tribe, such as *Zigua*. In Bantu languages, such as Swahili, people from the Zigua tribe are called *Wazigua*, while a single person from that tribe is called *Mzigua*. The word Mushunguli may have evolved from the word Mzigua.

...the Goshaland people are generally known by the name of their founders, the Wazigua.

Most scholars believe that the Wazigua are the founders of Goshaland along the Juba River, a safe haven for runaway slaves. Late in the 19th century, Egypt, Zanzibar, Italy, and Britain recognized this haven as an independent entity. Although other *gama* (autonomous communities) later existed in Goshaland, the Wazigua remained as an autonomous society with a distinct political structure. That is probably why the Goshaland people are generally known by the name of their founders, the Wazigua. Until the 1920s, the Bantu people of Goshaland were divided into nine gama groups, which constituted the core of their confederation. They are Makale, Makua, Molema, Mushunguli (Zigua), Ngindo, Nyamwezi, Nyassa, Nyika, and Yao. Later, some of these groups were either assimilated into the indigenous Bantu/Jareer of the Shabelle River or incorporated into other Somali clans such as Biamal, Garre, Jiido, Shiqaal, and so on.

Prior to the civil war in Somalia in the late 1980s, the Zigua (Wazigua), who have maintained their ancestral southeast African culture and language more than any other ex-slave Bantu group, were also referred to as the Mushunguli. Since many Bantu groups in pre-war Somalia wished to integrate into the dominant clan structure, identifying oneself as a Mushunguli was undesirable. Once in the refugee camps, however, being a Mushunguli became desirable as resettlement to Tanzania and Mozambique was predicated on proving a connection to an east African tribe. In this regard, some Bantu refugees with ex-slave ancestry, whether or not they maintained their ancestral language and culture, adopted

Mushunguli identification and Swahili language use to differentiate themselves from the other Somali Bantu groups. In order to avoid confusion for refugee resettlement professionals, however, the term Bantu will be used throughout this report.

Place in Society

Although there are today no reliable statistical sources, the Somali population is estimated at about 7.5 million people. Of that figure, the entire Bantu population in southern Somalia is estimated at about 600,000, and those with strong east African identification estimated at a fraction of that number. The Bantu people are ethnically and culturally distinct from the Somali nomads and the coastal people, who generally disdain agriculture and value a tribal lineage system that does not include the Bantu.

The Bantu, therefore, have had to settle for the lowest and most undignified occupations.

Since independence in 1960, Somali governments have promoted the false notion that Somalia is a homogeneous nation, a claim reinforced by some Somali nomadic scholars and non-Somalis as well. The myth of homogeneity falsely represents Somalia's dominant nomadic culture and tradition as the nation's only culture and tradition. Somalia, in fact, is made up of diverse communities. Indeed, some experts estimate that up to one-third of all Somalis are minorities, representing a variety of cultures, languages, and interpretations of the dominant Sunni Islamic religion.

The Bantu people's predominant Negroid physical features are distinct from that of the Somali nomads and give them a unique identity. Among the physical features used to differentiate the nomads from the Bantu is hair texture—*jareer* (kinky hair for the Bantu people) and *jilec* (soft hair for the non-Bantu). People with such features are subjected to a variety of discriminatory practices. They are often excluded from political, economic, and educational advancement. The Bantu, therefore, have had to settle for the lowest and most undignified occupations.

Social Structures

Some Bantu populations still maintain the tribal identities of their ancestral country of origin. However, unlike the nomadic Somalis, who consider clan affiliation and tribal identification sacrosanct and critical to survival, most Bantu people identify themselves by their place of residence, which, for those with strong cultural ties to Tanzania, often corresponds to their ceremonial kin grouping. The Bantu slated for resettlement in the United States, therefore, place much less emphasis on Somali clan and tribal affiliations than do the non-Bantu Somalis who have been resettled in the United States. Other Bantu who lived in the vicinity of nomadic Somali clans (particularly those residing outside of the lower Juba River valley) integrated into the Somali nomadic clan system, which provided the Bantu with protection and a sense of identity with the nomads.

Discrimination against the Bantu in Somalia largely prevented them from intermarrying with other Somali groups and thus receiving the protection those clan affiliations normally bring. As the scholar Lee Cassanelli explains,

> *In Somali society, married women traditionally have served to link the clans of their fathers and brothers, to whom they always belong, with their husbands, to whom the children always belong. Most of the nomadic clans practiced some form of exogamy—marriage outside the clan—to help strengthen alliances with "outsiders." Wives were exchanged even between clans and clan sections that were prone to fight over water and pasture. These ties helped mediate disputes between clans, since there were always families with in-laws on the other side who would have an interest in the peaceful resolution of conflicts.*

Discrimination against the Bantu was not confined to marriage alone, but engulfed every aspect of their lives. As a marginalized group, the Bantu lacked true representation in politics and access to government services, educational opportunities, and professional positions in the private sector. This exclusion also resulted in economic development policies and resource allocations that didn't take into account Bantu wishes and priorities. The Bantu's lineage to slavery relegated them to second-class status—or worse—in pre-war Somalia. This overt discrimination also carried over to the Kenyan refugee camps where the Bantu continued to experience discrimination from the other Somali groups.

Excluded from mainstream Somali society, many Bantu have retained ancestral social structures.

Excluded from mainstream Somali society, many Bantu have retained ancestral social structures. For many of the Bantu from the lower Juba River valley, this means that their east African tribe of origin is the main form of social organization. For these Bantu, smaller units of social organization are broken down according to matrilineal kin groupings, which are often synonymous with ceremonial dance groupings. Bantu village and community composition normally follows the Bantu's east African tribal and kin groupings.

Many Bantu from the middle Juba River valley lost their east African language and culture. These Bantu have attempted to integrate, usually as inferior members, into a local dominant Somali clan social structure. Like the Bantu from the lower Juba River valley, the Bantu from the middle Juba River valley also regard their village as an important form of social organization. Although Bantu with strong cultural and linguistic links to southeast Africa have been known to level sarcasm against those who attempted to assimilate into the dominant Somali clan culture and language, there is no real hostility between them. In fact, the war and refugee experience have worked to strengthen relationships between the various Bantu subgroups.

Economy

Economically, the Juba River valley in southern Somalia has a special status as it is one of only a few zones where irrigated agriculture is practiced and surplus production is common. Since the yields of other regions, which depend on rainwater, are rarely sufficient to satisfy local markets, it is the settlements in the Juba

River valley that supply the coastal and interior towns with agricultural products. The Bantu manned the caravans, which crossed this region in considerable numbers, in order to transship their goods to the nearby villages and cities.

In rural southern Somalia, the standard of living of the Bantu Somalis is quite low, and homes typically have no running water or electricity and few material possessions. Most Bantu farmers in the region are small holders, restricted to either low-level jobs or farming on land cultivated by family members and, occasionally, by a few hired workers. The average land area owned by each family ranges between 1 and 10 acres. This type of farming can provide subsistence and limited surpluses to the commercial market. Nevertheless, these farmers contribute the highest percentage to Somalia's staple food stocks, which include maize, millet, sorghum, sesame, beans, cotton, rice, vegetables, and fruits. Crops grown for commercial export markets include bananas, citrus, and vegetables.

After independence, Somali authorities adopted a policy designed to prevent Bantu people from social, political, and economic development.

Stagnant economic development among the Bantu people in southern Somalia probably has its roots in the Italian colonial period. Colonial officials confiscated the Bantu's arable farms, which were their only means of subsistence and economic advancement. Between 1935 and 1940, the Italian colonial authority also forcibly conscripted the Bantu into slave-like labor in order to establish large plantations to exploit the agricultural potential in the Juba River valley. This practice ended once the British Army in Somalia defeated the Italians in 1941. The 1940s until the early 1960s were predominantly peaceful years for the Bantu, who were free to farm with little interference from government authorities or hostile neighbors.

After independence, Somali authorities adopted a policy designed to prevent Bantu people from social, political, and economic development. Over the course of the late Siyaad Barre's military regime in the 1980s, more and more Bantu farmers became landless as large government-owned agricultural enterprises and members of the political elite used unjust land registration laws to displace the smallholder Bantu from their farms. Expropriation of this valuable arable and irrigable farmland from the Bantu allowed the new "owners" to exploit the land for cash crops.

Some of the Bantu have managed to move to urban areas in order to improve their lives. The Bantu in the cities work in building trades, woodworking, vehicle repair, tailoring, and electric machine maintenance. In the refugee camps, the Bantu have engaged in construction, manual labor, tree farming and nurseries, and vegetable gardening.

History

Persian and Arab traders established business contacts with east Africans over 1,000 years ago. These relations, coupled with refugees who fled the turmoil in Arabia after the death of Muhammad in the 7th century, resulted in a significant number of Arab immigrants residing on the coast of east Africa. The mixing of

the coastal Bantu-speaking African peoples with these Arab immigrants led to the emergence of the Swahili people and language. The Swahili people lived and worked for the next seven centuries with the indigenous African population. During this time, the Swahili people expanded their trade and communication further inland and to the south with the other African groups, including ancestral tribes of the Somali Bantu.

Colonial Period

By the time the Portuguese arrived in the 15th century, there existed a modern economy and advanced society on the east coast of Africa that some claim rivaled those in Europe. Portuguese colonial rule, however, disrupted the traditional local economic networks on the east African coast, resulting in a general breakdown of the once prosperous Swahili economy.

The Portuguese were finally ousted in 1730 from the east African coast (north of Mozambique) by forces loyal to the Sultanate of Oman. Omani Arab dominion adversely affected the Swahili but was disastrous to the inland African tribes as slavery expanded to become a major economic enterprise of the Sultanate. While Somali coastal cities were included in the Sultanate, local clans there enjoyed greater freedom over their internal affairs than did the Swahili people in Kenya and Tanzania.

The slave trade from Mozambique and southern Tanzania was carried out by agents of the Sultanate of Zanzibar in cooperation with some African tribes.

Slavery

Industrialization in the 18th century increased the demand for cheap labor around the world. Although slavery in east Africa predates the Sultanate of Zanzibar, widespread plantation and industrial slave operations in the early 19th century increased the need for labor. To take advantage of this business opportunity, the Sultan of Oman, Sayyid Said, relocated his seat of power from Oman to the east African island of Zanzibar in 1840. The Sultanate's sovereignty extended from northern Mozambique to southern Somalia. Africans from these areas were abducted into the slave trade. Tanzania, which now includes Zanzibar, was particularly terrorized by the slave trade. A majority of the Somali Bantu refugees slated for resettlement to the United States trace their ancestral origins to Tanzania.

The slave trade from Mozambique and southern Tanzania was carried out by agents of the Sultanate of Zanzibar in cooperation with some African tribes. Raids and prisoners of war were the typical sources of slaves. Written accounts from the time describe how slave traders marched African slaves 400 miles from the area around Lake Malawi in the interior to the Tanzanian coastal city of Kilwa Kivinje on the Indian Ocean. This written history corresponds exactly with the oral history of the Somali Bantu elders with origins in Mozambique. Bantu refugees with ancestral origins in northeast Tanzania, primarily the Zigua and Zaramo, similarly describe how their ancestors were transported by sea from the Tanzanian port city of Bagamoyo to southern Somalia.

Although many slaves were sold to European buyers with destinations beyond Africa, some slaves were sold to Africans to work on plantations on the continent. Some Africans slaves from Kilwa were transported to the Somali port cities of Merka and Brava where they were forced to work plantations near the Indian Ocean coast and in the Shabelle River valley.

Social Impact of Slavery

The introduction of the modern cash economy at about the same time, and with it the practice of slavery, contributed to the breakdown of traditional inter-tribal economic and social safety networks. As a result, many indigenous Africans lost their customary coping methods that had formerly protected them in times of severe drought. This was particularly true for tribes that were located near the Indian Ocean coast, such as the Zaramo and Zigua, both of which have descendants represented among the Somali Bantu refugees today. In the late 1830s, there were several years of consecutive drought in Tanzania that resulted in widespread starvation and death. In the hope of averting their families' starvation, Africans without means to weather this terrible period were reduced to accepting Omani Arab promises of wage labor in a distant land. The Bantu claim that once their ancestors landed in Somalia, they were sold as slaves on the Benediri coast and, later, to nomadic Somalis. The African slaves from northeast Tanzania generally worked in the same southeastern Somali regions as those slaves from Mozambique.

Between 25,000 and 50,000 slaves were absorbed into the Somali riverine areas from 1800 to 1890.

Between 25,000 and 50,000 slaves were absorbed into the Somali riverine areas from 1800 to 1890. During this period of expanded agricultural production in the Shabelle River valley, the more remote and forested Juba River valley remained largely uninhabited. In the 1840s, the first fugitive slaves from the Shabelle valley arrived and settled along the Juba River. By the early 1900s, an estimated 35,000 ex-slaves were living in communities in the Juba River valley, in many cases settling in villages according to their east African tribe.

In the mid-19th century, an influential female Zigua leader, Wanankhucha, led many of her people out of slavery in a well-orchestrated escape aimed at returning to Tanzania. Upon arriving in the lower Juba River valley, where the fugitive slaves were eventually able to farm and protect themselves from hostile Somalis, Wanankhucha determined that a recent earthquake in the valley was a sign that they should settle rather than continue their journey.

Another factor hindering the ex-slaves return to southeast Africa was the perilous social and physical environments in eastern Kenya and southern Somalia. At the time, the indigenous tribes of east Kenya were more hostile to runaway slaves than Arab slave owners. The physical landscape of the Kenyan frontier with Somalia is one of the more inhospitable areas in east Africa. Nonnatives trying to cross this area by foot placed themselves at great physical risk.

In 1895, the first 45 slaves were freed by the Italian colonial authority under the administration of the chartered company, V. Filonardi. Massive emancipation of

slaves in Somalia only began after the antislavery activist Robecchi Bricchetti informed the Italian public about the slave trade in Somalia and the indifferent attitude of the Italian colonial government toward the trade. Slavery in southern Somalia lasted until early into the 20th century when it was abolished by the Italian colonial authority in accordance with the Belgium protocol. Some inland groups remained in slavery until the 1930s, however.

After Slavery

Fugitive slaves who settled in the lower Juba River valley with others from their east African tribes were able to retain their ancestral languages and cultures. Later Bantu arrivals, who had begun to assimilate into Somali society while living in the Shabelle River valley, found the lower Juba River valley densely populated and were therefore forced to settle farther north to the middle Juba River valley. While the Bantu of the middle Juba River valley generally lost their ancestral languages and culture, they faced discrimination similar to that levelled against the Bantu living in the lower Juba River valley. Many of these Bantu adopted dominant Somali clan attachment and names as a means of social organization and identity.

The emancipated Bantu were expected to work solely as farm laborers on plantations owned by the Italian colonial government.

While slavery in southern Somalia was abolished in the early part of the 20th century, the same Italian authority that had abolished slavery reintroduced coerced labor laws and the conscription of the freed slaves for economic purposes in the agricultural industry in the mid-1930s. Italy had established over 100 plantations in the river valleys, and an Italian official suggested to the Italian administration that it establish villages for emancipated slaves who would be organized into labor brigades to work on the Italian plantations.

The emancipated Bantu were expected to work solely as farm laborers on plantations owned by the Italian colonial government. The Italian agricultural schemes would not have succeeded without the collaboration of individuals from non-Bantu ethnic groups who themselves were former slave owners. The Bantu were forced to abandon their own farms in order to dwell in the established villages around the Italian plantations. As a British official in east Africa noted, "The conception of these agricultural enterprises as exploitation concessions engendered under the [Italian] fascist regime a labour policy of considerable severity in theory and actual brutality in practice. It was in fact indistinguishable from slavery."

20th Century

In spite of attacks from rogue slave traders and coercive labor practices of the Italian colonial regime, the Bantu were able to establish themselves as farmers and live in a relatively stable manner. Over time, some Bantu migrated to large Somali cities where they found jobs as manual laborers and occasionally as semi-skilled tradesman.

Bantu refugee elders recall the British occupation of Somalia between the early 1940s and 1950 as more just than either the Italian colonial regime or the independent Somali government. Bantu refugees complain that life became more difficult once Somalia became independent in 1960. Although the Somali government made declarations in the 1970s that tribalism and mention of clan differences should be abolished, overt discrimination against the Bantu continued.

From the late 1970s until the early 1980s, the Somali government forcibly conscripted Bantu into the military in its fight against Ethiopia. The Bantu made ideal soldiers because, as the scholar Catherine Besteman notes, they were visually identifiable as comrades by other government soldiers and they were more easily caught if they tried to escape in the northern countryside where they would clearly be out of place.

Over time, some Bantu migrated to large Somali cities where they found jobs as manual laborers and occasionally as semi-skilled tradesman.

Civil War

Civil war broke out in the wake of the 1991 collapse of Siyaad Barre's regime, and clan competition for power had disastrous results for the civilian population in general and the Bantu people in particular. The Bantu were the backbone of agricultural production in southern Somalia, and consequently had large stocks of food on their property. As Somali civil society broke down in 1991 and 1992, agricultural marketing networks also began to cease normal operations. As hunger among the Somali population increased, stocks of food gained value and importance among not only the starving populace but also the bandits and rogue militias. Because the Bantu were excluded from the traditional Somali clan protection network, bandits and militias were able to attack the Bantu with impunity. In the process of stealing food stocks, the bandits also robbed, raped, and murdered Bantu farmers.

As the war progressed, control of the lower Juba River valley shifted among various warlords, with each wreaking havoc on the Bantu farming communities. In October of 1992, the Bantu began to flee southern Somalia en masse for refugee camps located approximately 40 miles from the Somali border in Kenya's arid and often hostile Northeastern Province. By January of 1994, an estimated 10,000 Bantu were living in the Dagahaley, Ifo, Liboi, and Hagadera Refugee Camps; 75% of these refugees expressed the desire to resettle in Tanzania and to not return to Somalia. Several thousand Bantu refugees also fled Somalia directly by sea to the Marafa refugee camp near Malindi, Kenya, and also to the Mkuyu refugee camp near Handeni in northern Tanzania.

In Refugee Camps

Refugees from southern Somalia, especially those who originated west of the Indian Ocean coastal cities, sought refuge by crossing into Kenya at the border town of Liboi (roughly located on the equator 10 miles west of the Kenya-Somalia frontier). Most refugees in Dadaab (located another 30 miles west of Liboi) today were received at Liboi, which also served as the original United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) camp in this area. As Liboi

grew to over 40,000 refugees, the UNHCR established additional camps: first Ifo, then Dagahaley, and, lastly, Hagadera, all of which are located in the Dadaab Division of Garissa District in Northeastern Province. The three camps are situated within 10 miles of the Dadaab Division town center, which is also called Dadaab. At its height, the four refugee camps in Kenya held over 160,000 refugees. With the closing of Liboi, the UNHCR estimates in 2002 that approximately 135,000 refugees remain in the three Dadaab camps.

The Dadaab camps are administered by the UNHCR with the main implementing partners, CARE International and Doctors Without Borders, providing general camp support and medical care respectively. A number of other nongovernmental agencies such as Caritas, UNICEF, and local Kenyan groups have also provided support. The Government of Kenya (GOK) established police posts in each camp and, occasionally, provides security backup through the Kenyan Army.

Dadaab is located in Kenya's inhospitable north. The area's flat, semi-arid, and sandy terrain supports mostly scrub brush and is home to an array of wildlife including giraffe, small antelope known as Dik Dik, various cats such as the East African Serval, hyena, the carnivorous Marabou stork, and Vulterine guinea fowl. The Somali Wild Ass is also prevalent in and around the refugee camps. Both flora and fauna in the Dadaab refugee area have suffered due to habitat destruction, mainly from the cutting and collection of firewood.

Dadaab is a small frontier town with sandy streets, some concrete buildings, and erratic water and electrical service. Along with refugees and the local Kenyan Somali inhabitants, nomads and bandits use Dadaab as a rest and resupply destination. Caution must be used when walking through town at night. Gunfire and banditry in Dadaab force aid workers to live in secure compounds.

In the refugee camps, the Bantu settled in the most distant locations (blocks or sections housing approximately 600 people each) where they, along with other refugees on the periphery of the camp, are more vulnerable to bandit attacks than refugees living near the center of the camps. Settlement of the Bantu in these camp locations was partly a result of their date of arrival in the camps and partly a result of the discrimination against them by the other Somali refugees.

Each refugee family in the Dadaab camps is issued a large canvas tent, basic cooking utensils, and a jerry can for collecting potable water from spigots located throughout the camps. Cooking of UNHCR-supplied wheat, beans, salt, sugar, and oil (which are distributed once every two weeks), along with various produce and canned food available in the refugee camp markets, is usually done over an open fire. Refugees dig their own latrines with UNHCR-supplied building materials and supervision. Doctors Without Borders runs the hospitals and many health posts that are located in each refugee camp. They, along with CARE International social workers, provide various forms of outreach to the refugees.

In order to protect themselves against nighttime bandit attacks, the Bantu have constructed fortified compounds guarded by armed sentries. Since security for

In 2002, over 12,000 Somali Bantu were moved to the Kakuma refugee camp in northwest Kenya to be interviewed by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

all people living in the refugee camps is inadequate, other refugees have also built protective fencing around their sections. In the first years of the camp, the Bantu suffered violent attacks at a rate that was disproportionate to their population in the wider refugee camp community.

Before a U.S.-sponsored firewood collection program was established, refugee women were particularly vulnerable to rape while collecting firewood in the surrounding bush. Rape was often committed by men from one clan against women from a different clan. In some cases, refugees who were raped claimed that their attackers first asked them what clan they belonged to.

Bantu women were especially vulnerable. Rapists could be virtually assured that they were not attacking a fellow clan member or even someone who belonged to a clan that had a security agreement with their clan. In the ensuing anger and confusion of these rapes, the Bantu accused the dominant clans of this crime. When women from the dominant clans were raped, they sometimes accused Bantu men as the attackers. With accusations being hurled against each community, hostilities occasionally broke out.

These bandits extort protection money from the Bantu in return for not harming them or allowing other bandits to harm them.

Despite this difficult environment, the Bantu have managed to carve out a niche for themselves in small-scale agriculture, operating a tree nursery at one camp and growing produce for local markets in and outside of the refugee camps. The Bantu have also been employed by nongovernmental organizations in the building trades and as laborers.

In 2002, over 12,000 Somali Bantu were moved to the Kakuma refugee camp in northwest Kenya to be interviewed by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Post-Civil War

As militia fighting in southern Somalia stabilized in the mid-1990s, the Bantu who remained in Somalia were once again able to resume farming. Since this time, however, armed dominant clan bandits have taken control of the valuable agricultural regions of southern Somalia. These bandits extort protection money from the Bantu in return for not harming them or allowing other bandits to harm them. Today, the Bantu in Somalia again exist in a state someplace between sharecropping and slavery. Here is how Cassanelli describes the situation:

> *The war is now concentrated in key resource areas of the south, which are largely, although not exclusively, inhabited by minorities. While planting and harvesting have resumed in many districts of the south, the larger economy is one based on extortion of surpluses from the unarmed to the armed. Because no social contract based on clan affiliation exists between the occupying forces and the villagers, there is no assurance that benefits in the form of relief aid will reach the villagers themselves.*

Religious Life

Ancestors of the Bantu in southeast Africa practiced indigenous ceremonies and beliefs prior to their abduction into slavery. Since Muslims are prohibited from owning Muslim slaves, some Bantu freed themselves from slavery by converting to Islam. Over time, many others also converted to Islam. A small number of Bantu who resided in the Dadaab refugee camps recently converted to Christianity. Many Bantu, whether Muslim or Christian, retain animist beliefs, including use of magic, curses, and possession dances.

Islamic influence among the escaped slaves in the Juba River valley gained momentum after the Bantu leader Nassib Bundo converted to Islam. Although the pre-Islamic traditions and ritual practices were not completely eliminated, most Bantu people in the Juba River valley had converted to Islam by the beginning of the 20th century. Unlike some politically motivated Islamic groups, the Bantu people from the Juba River valley practice Islam for solely religious purposes.

Many Bantu, whether Muslim or Christian, retain animist beliefs, including use of magic, curses, and possession dances.

It should be noted that the lower Juba Bantu with strong linguistic and cultural ties to southeast Africa place great value on belonging to a ritual group, known as *mviko*. Some traditional ceremonies performed by the group are known as mviko rituals. As Francesca Declich, an authority on Bantu culture, explains,

> *In the Gosha area, belonging to a dance society or other dance group is equivalent to belonging to a kin grouping: people share a network of relationships, incest rules (inter-marriage is closely controlled between members of the same dance group), and ancestors by dance group. The dances are closely related to initiation into adulthood and their performance is closely related to control and, therefore, political power.*

Mviko and other Bantu ceremonies that include playing drums and dancing are not considered appropriate Islamic behavior and are forbidden by some local Muslim sheikhs. In pre-civil war Somalia, newly resettled nomads in the Juba River valley would often disrupt Bantu dance performances. Some Bantu ceremonial dancing in the Dadaab refugee camps was also disrupted—sometimes violently through intimidation and stone throwing—by fundamentalist Muslim Somalis who objected to the perceived sexually provocative dancing. Although there is some conflict in mixing Islamic Sufi mysticism, which is acceptable to Muslim sheikhs, and the traditional Bantu ritual dances, both seem to coexist in Bantu religious life.

Conversion to Islam by the Bantu communities has served to somewhat reduce hostilities between them and the Somali pastoralists who live in the vicinity of the Juba River. The Bantu are members of the Sunni Islamic sect and members of the Ahmediya Sufi brotherhood and the Qaadiriya Sufi brotherhood, which was headed by the distinguished scholar Sheikh Awees Al-Barawi of Bantu origin. The brotherhoods are known to be the center for religious learning. At the same

time, there are Bantu who are not attached to any brotherhood group and practice Islam on a daily basis.

With regard to religious practices, the Bantu are among the more liberal Muslims in Somali society. Evidence of this are the ceremonies performed by the Bantu and the roles that women are allowed to play in the community, such as being allowed to work in the fields and, although they dress modestly by American standards, not wearing the *hijab*, which some Muslim women wear to cover themselves while in public. There is no evidence to link the Bantu with any fundamentalist religious or extremist political group. In fact, some fundamentalists in Somalia dismiss the Bantu's religious saints (Sufis) and Islamic practices as unorthodox.

...generally Bantu society is a patriarchal one...

Like other Islamic groups, the Bantu people celebrate the two major religious occasions, *Eid-al-Fitr,* which comes at the end of the holy month of Ramadan, and *Eid-al-Adha,* which coincides with the annual pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia.

There appeared to be no Christians among the Bantu who first arrived in refugee camps in 1992. By 1996, however, a small number had converted to Christianity in the Ifo refugee camp, which was also home to several hundred Christian Ethiopians. The Christian Bantu stated that they didn't want to belong to a religion (Islam) that could allow atrocities to be perpetrated against them. A 2002 report by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) notes the presence of a Bantu-constructed Christian church in the Ifo refugee camp.

Daily Life and Values

Although it is difficult to say what is important to all Somali Bantu, let alone describe what they value, the authors' experience with the Bantu indicates that they, like Americans, wish to better the lives of their children and are willing to work hard and make sacrifices to achieve this. Like other marginalized minorities around the world, the Somali Bantu have been forced to accept their supposed station in life. Part of this acceptance meant keeping their true feelings about their position in Somali society to themselves. Once in the refugee camps, however, where Kenyan police, aid workers, and Kenyan government officials treated the Somali Bantu more respectfully, the Bantu began to speak out and defend themselves against their mistreatment. By treating the Bantu as fairly and respectfully as they treat other refugee groups, resettlement workers in the United States will help establish rapport and earn the Bantu's trust.

Despite the abuses against them, the Bantu have been described as a resourceful people with many different skills. Bantu who have gone to the cities have worked in a variety of labor intensive occupations. Their resourcefulness and hard work is evident in the refugee camps as well, where the Bantu have been engaged in similar types of jobs as well as agricultural work. The Bantu have also been described as humble and hospitable. They are known for their capacity to easily adjust to any situation.

Family Life

The IOM reports that the average Bantu family consists of between four and eight children, often with a number of very young children, and that a nuclear family typically includes grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives. Most Bantu adults also consider themselves members of more than one family. A married woman, for example, retains membership in her father's family.

Daily life may vary slightly from one Bantu family to another, but generally Bantu society is a patriarchal one in which the father is the main provider and the mother is the general manager of the family's domestic affairs. However, for some lower Juba Bantu who have maintained their east African language and culture, traditional rituals are passed down through the mother. Increasingly, women are playing a role in helping provide for the family. Bantu children typically work alongside their parents on the family farm and participate with adults in some traditional ceremonies.

The Bantu maintain their traditional hospitality and support toward extended families in times of trouble. In fact, their hospitality extends to outsiders who are in need of help. For example, when neighboring pastoral communities lose their animals due to drought and disease, they are welcomed to settle with the Bantu communities. In these cases, a house is built and a piece of farm land assigned to the newcomer under a rental agreement known as *doonfuul* or *berkaber*, which means sharecropping.

The IOM estimates that while some Bantu marry before the age of 16, it is rare, and that many marry between the ages of 16 and 18.

Marriage and Children

Marriage among the Bantu people can be divided into two types. The first, known as *aroos fadhi*, is consensual and arranged by the parents. The second, known as *msafa*, is not approved by the parents and involves the couple running away together to the house of a local sheikh to be married. Before performing the wedding, however, the sheikh calls the children's parents to ask them whether they give their blessings to the marriage. The parents on both sides will usually give the wedding their blessing out of respect for the sheikh. In traditional Bantu marriages, the father of the groom pays a dowry to the family of the bride. Bantu weddings are festive occasions where the groom's parents also arrange a large party for the guests after the ceremony. The IOM estimates that while some Bantu marry before the age of 16, it is rare, and that many marry between the ages of 16 and 18. Like Muslims in Somalia, the Bantu practice polygamy.

With the Bantu, as in much of Somali society, the children are given the father's names while the wife keeps her father's names. The Bantu should be addressed by their first name. Traditionally, a child is given a name on the third day after birth. Islamic names are predominantly used these days, although there is also evidence that some Bantu still use traditional names as well. Some male traditional names are Kolonga, Shaalo, Juma, Mkoma, Mberwa, Nameka, Arbow, Kabea, and Kasamila. Examples of male Islamic names are Kabirow, Malik,

Mustaf, Abdulrahman, and Mohammed. Several female traditional names are Unshirey, Mwanamku, and Mwanamvua, while some Islamic female names are Fatuma, Nuuria, Rahma, and Amina.

Divorce is not uncommon among the Bantu, and men and women may have children by different partners. Young children typically stay with the mother after divorce, but older children may stay with the father.

Community Life

Public life in Bantu villages is similar to that in other African societies where people know and interact with each other to provide for their sustenance and protection. Daily life for most men is consumed by either working on private farms or at wage earning jobs. Most women play the role of the head of the household, while also being responsible for food preparation and farming tasks. This social structure was recreated in the refugee camps, where the Bantu settled into several community sections or blocks. They quickly organized themselves into functioning communities with gardens for supplemental food, appointed elders and leaders to conduct ceremonies, and built fencing with guards to protect themselves against bandit attacks.

...social structure was recreated in the refugee camps, where the Bantu settled into several community sections or blocks.

Festivities and Ceremonies

Like other Muslims, the Bantu follow the lunar year system while also using the solar year system to determine the timing for crop planting and harvesting. One of the popular and celebrated traditional festivities is the fire festival known as *Deb-Shid*, in which people dance and sing around a bonfire to celebrate the beginning of a new year.

Bantu ceremonies and dance groups are strongly linked to their community structure and spiritual well-being. Thus, traditional ceremonies and ritual dancing among the Bantu will most likely continue to be an important aspect of their lives once they are settled in the United States. Resettlement agencies should therefore try to incorporate these aspects of community organization into the Bantu's resettlement placement and delivery of services. In the United States, clustering Bantu families together in housing units would allow them to draw on their community cooperation and support.

Another important and traditional festival is *Anyakow*. This is a dance and singing celebration in which both males and females participate and is mostly held at night in the forest. It is only performed during the day for the commemoration of an important figure in the community or for someone who is about to get married and requests it for the wedding. Other celebrations are held at night to allow participants to spiritually connect with their ancestors. Night is also a time for people to rest and make social acquaintances.

A fascinating and entertaining dance is *Masawey*, in which men and women wear dried banana leaves on their waists, metal anklets on their feet, and

bracelets on their hands to make synchronized rhythmic noises. This is an acrobatic dance with participants simultaneously swinging and moving their bodies. This dance, like Anyakow, is sung in either Swahili or a local dialect. Another famous dance is *Cadow Makaraan. Shulay* is a dance competition between Bantu villages that is performed by the best boy and girl dancers from each village. In all these events, whether ritual or fantasy, performers play different drums and other instruments.

Artistic woodcarvings are demonstrated during the festivities of Anyakow and other dancing ceremonies. Various carved masks are worn during daytime dances to cover one's face. During these festivities, the artists' mastery of art, literature, and music are said to not only capture the audience's attention, but to mesmerize them as well.

Although festivities are mainly religious, there are other nonreligious social occasions that are celebrated, such as the birth of a baby, marriages, circumcisions, and the commemoration of saints. The Bantu's animist beliefs reveal themselves in rural child-rearing practices. Women with babies under 40 days old traditionally stay inside. If a new mother needs to go outside, she will often take a metallic object with her to ward off evil. This tradition is mostly practiced by those living in rural Somalia, while the urban population often no longer practices such traditions.

The staple food for the Bantu is maize, locally known as soor, which is a thick porridge.

Diet

The staple food for the Bantu is maize, locally known as *soor*, which is a thick porridge. Other foods are beans, sorghum, vegetables, and fruits. Through outside influences, additional foods such as rice and spaghetti have become common. The Bantu catch fish for themselves from the Juba River and occasionally buy or trade for ghee, milk, and meat in the market from the nomads. They normally eat three meals a day. Breakfast often includes coffee with bananas, sweet potatoes, or yam. For lunch, they may eat boiled corn and beans mixed with sesame oil and tea. Dinner could be soor with *mboga* (cooked vegetables), fish or meat, and milk.

The Bantu eat *halaal* meat—that is, meat that comes from animals slaughtered by a Muslim—and are not permitted to eat pork and lard. Some Bantu also hunt wild game to supplement their diets. Although the Bantu follow restrictions against alcohol, a few brew local drinks made of maize and honey, which is consumed during the traditional ritual dance gatherings.

Resettlement agencies may want to provide the Bantu with bread and cereal (hot and cold), the fruit and vegetables listed above, and milk and loose leaf tea to drink. The Bantu have learned to make and cook spaghetti and flat bread (similar to a tortilla) in the refugee camps from their rations of wheat, cooking oil, sugar, and salt. They have also grown tomatoes, onions, papaya, and watermelons in the camps and should be familiar with this produce in the United States.

Dress

As mentioned earlier, Bantu women do not wear the hijab for religious purposes. However, if married, they cover themselves by wearing a *shaash dango* (headscarf), a locally styled blouse called a *cambuur-garbeet*, and a large wraparound cloth called a *gonfo*, similar to the Indian sari. Some Bantu dressing styles are worn only on special occasions such as weddings, traditional festivities, and religious celebrations.

Many Bantu men in the refugee camps, and particularly the older ones, dress in buttoned shirts or t-shirts along with the traditional wraparound cloth that other Somalis wear around their waists. Like their Somali compatriots, the Bantu may wear this clothing at home once they arrive in the United States. Younger men engaged in manual labor are more likely to wear pants rather than the wraparound cloth. Some Bantu men also put on the Muslim cap or, less often, a turban.

Clothing worn by the Bantu children in the refugee camp generally mirrors that of the parents. With limited money for clothes, children are often provided with the most affordable clothes that are available in the camps, with girls wearing dresses and wraparound skirts and boys dressing in t-shirts and pants. Due to a lack of money, some refugees even used the liner in their tents as material for clothing.

Art for the Bantu primarily takes the form of music and dance...

Art, Literature, and Music

Art for the Bantu primarily takes the form of music and dance, as described in length in the sections on religion and festivities. Important aspects of their culture are passed down from one generation to the next through storytelling, singing, and oral recounting of their history. The Bantu play musical instruments, primarily drums, in their traditional ceremonies. Some Bantu work in urban Somalia playing in bands for the wider Somali population.

Language and Literacy

The Somali language has distinct regional variants. The two main variants are Af Maay (pronounced *af my*) and Af Maxaa (roughly pronounced *af mahaa*). Both are Cushitic, with virtually all Somalis speaking at least one of these languages. Af Maay, also know as Maay Maay, serves as the lingua franca in southern Somalia as an agropastoral language while Af Maxaa is spoken throughout the rest of Somalia and in neighboring countries, including Kenya, where the refugee camps are located.

Both languages served as official languages until 1972 when the government determined that Af Maxaa would be the official written language in Somalia. This decision further isolated and hindered southerners, including the Bantu, from participating in mainstream Somali politics, government services, and

education. Af Maay and Af Maxaa share some similarities in their written form but are different enough in their spoken forms as to be mutually unintelligible.

While the main language in the Juba River valley is Af Maay, some Bantu in traditional villages do not understand it at all. These Bantu still speak their ancestral tribal languages from Tanzania (primarily Zigua), with Swahili occasionally used as a common language. In the refugee camps, some Bantu adults have taken it upon themselves to learn English while others have gained greater proficiency in Swahili in order to communicate with Kenyan aid workers, police, and government officials. A limited number of Bantu refugees are also able to speak and understand some Af Maxaa, which is predominantly spoken in the Dadaab refugee camps and in the surrounding districts of Kenya's Northeastern Province.

The Somali language has distinct regional variants.

Resettlement agencies in the United States may want to try first using Af Maay, then using Af Maxaa-speaking Somali staff to translate. Some Bantu children may have a strong enough command of English to communicate with resettlement workers. With Zigua and other traditional Bantu, resettlement agencies can utilize their Swahili-speaking staff from east Africa (Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, and Tanzania) to communicate with these Bantu. If Somali translators are used, there may be issues of trust and respect between them and the Bantu.

Although the male head of household will most likely represent the family, resettlement workers should also speak directly with the other members of the family to ensure that their needs and concerns are being met.

The Af Maay Dialect

The Sound System and Pronunciation

Af Maay uses the Roman alphabet with minor modifications to accommodate unique pronunciations. Since it has only recently been codified, the written language is very much a work in progress, with variations quite common. Like Af Maxaa, the Af Maay grammar is not well documented although the use of proper grammar is very important in both.

Af Maay consists of 24 consonants and five vowels:

Consonants: *b p t j jh d th r s sh dh g gh f q k l m n ng ny w h y*

Of these, fifteen are pronounced almost as they are in English: *b, d, f, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, s, sh, t, w,* and *y*. Af Maay does not use the English letters *c, v, x,* and *z*. Unlike the Af Maxaa language, Af Maay has no pharyngeal or glottal sound such *ha* and *'a*, which are also common in Arabic (*xa* and *ca* in Af Maxaa).

Vowels: *a e i o u*

Vowels always have fixed value in Af Maay; each letter has one sound and each sound has one letter. Long vowels (*aa, ee, ii, oo, uu*) are used in Af Maay as in Af Maxaa and pronounced about twice as long as a single counterpart.

a	tart	*aa*	father
e	way [but shorter]	*ee*	payday
i	in, wit	*ii*	see
o	boat	*oo*	sew [but drawn a little bit longer]
u	coo	*uu*	noon [but drawn a little bit longer]

English vowels will present some difficulty to Somali Bantu, since English lacks Af Maay's one-to-one correspondence between vowel letters and sounds; in English, each letter has more than one sound, and each sound has more than one spelling. Typically, Somali Bantu will pronounce English words the way they would pronounce them in Af Maay. Thus, *boat* might be pronounced "bow-at" with two syllables, and the word *may* might be pronounced "my."

Typically, Somali Bantu will pronounce English words the way they would pronounce them in Af Maay.

In the Af Maay, as in Af Maxaa, the consonants *r, m,* and *l* are doubled within some words (e.g., *arring,* 'matter,' *illing,* 'kernel') to indicate a sound which is pronounced with much more force than its single counterpart. Thus, Af Maxaa and Af Maay speakers often pronounce the doubled consonants in English words such as "bigger," "middle," "merry," "simmer," and "nibble" with more strength than they would be pronounced by a native speaker of English. However, unlike in Af Maxaa, the letters *b, d, g* and *n* are not doubled when emphasis is needed. Instead, the letters *p, th, gh,* and *ng* respectively are used in their place. These sounds are unique to Af Maay. There are no letters to represent these distinct sounds in Af Maxaa. Note the following words:

*bar**b**aar* 'youth' - *he**p**ed* 'chest'
P always occurs in the middle of the word and it sounds similar to the *v* in the English alphabet (e.g., *apaal,* 'gratitude'; *hopoog,* 'scarf').

*der**th**aar* 'advice' - *ma**th**al* 'appointment'
Th is pronounced as in 'the' in the English language (e.g., *etheb,* 'politeness').

legding 'wrestling' - *sa**gh**aal* 'nine'
Gh sounds like the Parisian *r* and does not have an English equivalent (e.g., *dhaghar,* 'deceive'; *shughul,* 'job').

*ti**ng**aar* 'oven' - *u**ng**beer* 'dress'
Ng is similar to the sound of 'ing' in English (e.g., *angkaar,* 'curse'; *oong,* 'thirst').

The letters *dh, jh,* and *ny* (or *yc*) are used to represent sounds common in Af Maay. They are also not found in the Af Maxaa alphabet.

Dh is a hard, aspirated *d.*

Jh is guttural and sounds like *j* in 'jar' with the addition of aspiration. (e.g., *jheer*, 'shyness'; *jhab*, 'fracture').

Ny, a sound found in the word *signore, bsogno,* and *agnello* in the Italian language, is a source of controversy. This sound is universally found in many Asian and African languages and in some Af Maay scripts this sound is represented as *yc*.

ycaaycuur	'cat'	*maaycy*	'ocean'
Ycuuycy	'name of a person'	*ycisaang*	'the youngest'
myyceeg	'feeble		

Y (pronounced as in 'yes') is a common ending on nouns and verbs.

Maghy	'Noun'	*Misgy*	'Sorghum'
Maaycy	'Ocean'	*Jyny*	'Heaven'
Shyny	'Bee'	*Myfathaaw*	'I do not want it'

The Grammatical System

There are no equivalents to 'a', 'an', and 'the' in Af Maay. So *tufaah* ('apple') means "an apple" and "the apple." Interpretation depends on context. Nouns have three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter) and number (plural and singular) but no case. The preposition is put at the end of the prepositional phrase, so it is more accurately called a postposition.

Af Maay has three basic verb tenses: past, present, and future. Unlike English which has a complex verbal system, Af Maay uses the degree of pastness or futurity in their verbal system. The most common word order is OSV (object-subject-verb) but can also be SVO (subject-verb-object) in certain contexts.

Upon arrival in the Dadaab refugee camps, few, if any, of the Bantu were observed to be literate.

Literacy

In 1975, government figures estimated that the literacy rate among Somali citizens was 55%, in contrast to a 5% rate before the adoption of the national script. The United Nations, however, estimated the literacy rate in Somalia at 24%.

Due to their exclusion from formal education and positions in Somalia that require literacy, the Bantu have remained largely illiterate. Upon arrival in the Dadaab refugee camps, few, if any, of the Bantu were observed to be literate. Without any accurate data, it can only be said that the rate of literacy for the Bantu is low and certainly well below the United Nations estimate of 24%.

With primary and secondary education offered to all refugees in the Kenyan camps, many school-age Somali Bantu children, and especially the boys, have learned to read and write. Some adult Bantu have taken it upon themselves to learn to read and write too, sometimes with the help of educated English-speaking Kenyan Somalis who hire themselves out to the refugees as translators and teachers.

Education

Their general exclusion from mainstream Somali society has hindered the Bantu from participating in the education system. The Somali government has established far fewer schools in Bantu regions than in towns inhabited by dominant clans. This denial of access to education represents one of the most egregious and detrimental examples of Somali institutional discrimination against the Bantu. Some Bantu children in Somalia did attend Koranic (religious education) schools.

The lack of schools in Bantu residential areas, along with an unfamiliar language used as the medium of instruction, are among the obstacles to education faced by the rural Bantu. Those who can afford to send their children to a city to earn a high school degree face discrimination against pursuing higher education. In general, Bantu students have been deliberately excluded from studying abroad on scholarships. In the past, the few Bantu students who did receive scholarships mainly went to the Soviet military academy because at the time there was very little interest among Somalis in studying in that country.

The Somali government has established far fewer schools in Bantu regions than in towns inhabited by dominant clans.

General discrimination by the majority Somalis has further excluded the Bantu from virtually any but the most menial positions in Somali-run organizations. These positions generally do not require literacy, thus further decreasing the need for the Bantu to pursue formal education.

IOM officials report that while some Bantu children in the refugee camps attend primary and secondary school, only an estimated 5% of all Bantu refugees have been formally educated. Some Somali refugees refused to allow their children to study alongside Bantu children. This resulted in some Somali students attending separate classes, and, in some cases, separate schools, from the Bantu. Educating boys has been the priority for Bantu parents, although some female children attend primary school with a smaller number pursing secondary education.

Knowledge of English

The Bantu from the Lower Juba River valley arrived in the Dadaab refugee camps with virtually no members among them able to speak English. Some Bantu who were living on the Somali coast prior to the civil war, however, were able to speak some English.

While in the refugee camps, some of the adult Bantu refugees began to learn English informally. The Bantu children in the Dadaab refugee camps who attended primary school were taught according to the Kenyan national education system, which normally uses English as the medium of instruction in secondary school with an introduction to English in primary school.

The IOM estimates that approximately 5% of the adult Bantu refugees (mostly males) are proficient in English. Bantu children attending CARE International primary and secondary schools have learned to speak some English.

Resettlement Challenges

As would be the case with other farmers from rural Africa, the Bantu will face a culture and civil society in America that is as foreign to them as any on earth. Although other refugees with similar histories of persecution and marginalization, such as the Hmong from Southeast Asia, have resettled in the United States, no such large group of African immigrants from one minority group has come to the United States.

In addition to obstacles such as illiteracy, lack of English skills, immigrant status, lack of formal education, and no modern-economy job skills, the Bantu will also face the obstacle of discrimination inherent in American society. For these reasons, it is suggested that American resettlement professionals devote sufficient resources to help the Somali Bantu overcome the immense challenges they will face in the United States.

The Bantu have a very strong sense of family and community. This strength can work to overcome some of the challenges they will face in the United States. Resettling extended family and kin groups together could provide the social, spiritual, and physical support that will be needed by the Bantu to more effectively integrate into American society. This is particularly important as Bantu refugees will neither have established family, nor kin support networks waiting to assist them in the United States. Moreover, they have proven time and again that they can adapt to extremely difficult and new situations. With sufficient levels of mentoring and resources, the Bantu can successfully adapt to American society.

Although the Bantu come from a rural farming region, many have been living in large camps with approximately 40,000 other refugees. In this regard, some of the Bantu have gained limited exposure to urban ways of life, such as transportation systems, rental property, and government services, which they weren't familiar with in Somalia. The Dadaab refugee camps, for example, are served by taxis and buses on a regular basis. There are even buses originating in the camps that travel directly to major Kenyan cities, including Nairobi.

The IOM conducts cultural orientation for all U.S.-bound adult Somali Bantu refugees over the age of 15. Orientation is geared toward preparing refugees for resettlement in the United States; topics include work, housing, health, and education. Due to concerns about the special challenges facing the Bantu, the U.S. State Department has approved enhanced cultural orientation of up to 80 hours for each individual. The additional training includes survival literacy and special classes for mothers and youth.

American resettlement agencies may wish to prepare training and support for the Somali Bantu that have worked well with other resettled refugees groups with similar characteristics, such as rural African refugees or the Hmong of Southeast Asia. In particular, agencies may wish to focus on high school equivalency (GED), English language training, crime awareness, rights and opportuni-

Although the Bantu come from a rural farming region, many have been living in large camps with approximately 40,000 other refugees.

ties available to them as newcomers to America, and relations among the myriad ethnic groups in the United States.

The following briefly discusses areas of need for newly resettled Bantu refugees and what service providers might do to address these needs.

Housing

Since the Bantu have had very little exposure to Western housing, conveniences, and food, resettlement professionals will need to employ strategies with the Bantu that have previously worked with other rural refugees. Electricity, flush toilets, telephones, and kitchen and laundry appliances are all foreign to most Bantu refugees.

Like other rural east African people, the use of herbs in traditional medical practices is common.

Work and Finances

Although the Bantu possess few modern economy job skills, they are in other ways well prepared to enter the American work force. Their ability to accept virtually any job in Somalia and Kenya in order to provide for their families will serve them well in the United States.

The placement of newly arrived refugees in occupations in which they have skills, such as mechanics, small-scale farming, and construction, would enable them to more quickly learn their new jobs and prove their worth as employees. Working in semirural, nonmigratory agriculture may help some Bantu better acclimate to American society by placing them in a residential and work environment that is more familiar to them than standard modern-economy jobs in urban areas.

Bantu women have primarily worked in the home and on the farm. Some women acquired land in Somalia in order to earn their own money. Their hard-working and resourceful nature will help Bantu women find and keep jobs in the United States. Resettlement professionals may wish to use employment strategies for the Bantu women that were successful with other women of similar rural backgrounds, such as the Hmong.

The Bantu, like other rural refugees, have had little experience with banks, checking accounts, or automatic teller machines. Although the Bantu are familiar with borrowing land and money, selling produce in markets, and earning wages from private and public employers, the refugees will still require intensive training on finances, budgeting, and financial planning.

Health Care

The IOM reports a high birth rate among the Bantu population, noting that most married women are either breastfeeding or pregnant and that the concept of family planning does not exist. According to recent data collected by the UNHCR, an estimated 60% of the Bantu are under 17, and 31% are under 6.

Although these characteristics are not unique to the Bantu, let alone other refugee populations, resettlement professionals should be prepared to deal with significant health care, sanitation, and social support issues relating to small children and mothers. For instance, the Bantu use pit latrines and are unfamiliar with typical American bathroom facilities and common sanitation items such as diapers and feminine care products.

The Bantu are a rural people who practice traditional beliefs. This extends to medical care in which local healing techniques are used. The IOM reports that some Bantu apply a heated nail or metal object to an infant's head in the belief that the burns will reduce the swelling of the head in cases where it is unusually large. They also burn small holes in the skin to cure ailments like stomach aches and migraine headaches. Like other rural east African people, the use of herbs in traditional medical practices is common.

The years of subjugation and fear have adversely affected their sense of equality and self-esteem.

Religious healing, such as prayer, is also frequently used. Some Bantu women, accompanied by traditional healers, perform ritual ceremonies, known as *Gitimiri* or *Audara*, to cast off illness and evil spells. Other such healing techniques are practiced among the Bantu and other Somali groups. Resettlement professionals in the United States may want to consult with their southern Somali colleagues to better understand the scope of such healing techniques practiced in that region.

Like other Somali groups, the Bantu circumcise both males and females. Aid workers in the refugee camps state that female circumcision practiced by some Bantu is a milder form than that practiced by the other Somali groups. While service providers report that the Bantu are agreeable to giving up the practice when they arrive in the United States, there have been reports from the UNHCR that some Bantu, knowing that they cannot legally circumcise their daughters in the U.S., rushed to circumcise them before departing Kenya. Health and legal concerns around this should continue to be addressed by resettlement agencies upon the Bantu's arrival in the United States. It should be noted that female circumcision is a tradition that may have accompanied Islam but is not mandated by Islam.

Mental Health

Bantu refugees with a lineage to slavery have a long history of marginalization. The years of subjugation and fear have adversely affected their sense of equality and self-esteem. The Bantu were further affected by the recent civil war with many fleeing only after their villages were attacked. Many witnessed friends and relatives being killed in bandit attacks in Somalia.

The prevalence of violence and the constant threat of attack in the refugee camps have further eroded the Bantu's sense of security and well-being. The IOM reports trauma-related problems, including hopelessness and depression, among the Bantu being interviewed for resettlement. Thus, resettlement professionals will have to contend not only with the aftereffects of trauma from violence, but also

the Bantu's intergenerational culture of inferiority and second-class status. Service providers should closely monitor the Bantu to determine if any are experiencing serious mental health problems.

Margaret Munene, a UNHCR psychologist, explains that the Bantu's withdrawn demeanor could indicate low self-esteem. Munene further states that the Bantu have escaped their oppressors in Somalia only to live among them in Kenya. In the Dadaab refugee camps, the Bantu still lack the psychological freedom to be themselves.

It is important to recognize that Bantu children who will attend American public schools are probably traumatized as well, and will need special services in this area. Helping local host communities understand the background and experiences of trauma that the Bantu refugees have suffered will be very important.

The IOM reports that some Bantu are not accustomed to being interviewed and answering questions in a linear, sequential way.

Education

Since education was often out of reach for Bantu children, most worked on their parents' farms instead of attending school. As formal education has only begun to be available in the refugee camps, educators in the United States may find Bantu parents reluctant or unable to participate in their children's education.

Given the critical importance of literacy in the United States, resettlement professionals may want to prepare an intensive adult literacy campaign for adult Bantu refugees. Without literacy skills, Bantu adults will be unable to participate in the modern economy and integrate into mainstream American society.

Learning English

Learning a new language in a foreign country poses many challenges. However, given their versatility and strong adaptive ability, the Bantu are likely to overcome the challenges they encounter in this area. Af Maay and English are more similar in pronunciation than are Af Maxaa and English. Also, since many Bantu are at least bilingual, and in some cases speak four languages, they bring to the task of learning English the experience and understanding of what it takes to communicate in a different language.

Style of Communication

One cultural issue in orientation will be the Bantu's style of communication. The IOM reports that some Bantu are not accustomed to being interviewed and answering questions in a linear, sequential way. Many women are not able to give the exact age of their children, and use weather markers or particular events rather than specific dates to answer questions about dates of birth and other family history. Only after long conversations with many follow-up questions can the appropriate information be determined. The IOM also reports that the Bantu are uncommonly open and honest with their answers compared to some other groups.

Special Needs of Women

Female circumcision, rape, a lack of education, second-class status in Somali society, high birth rates, single parent status, and trauma from past experiences are all conditions that Bantu women have had to endure in Africa.

In the United States, the Bantu women will be further challenged if they cannot draw upon their extended family and kin networks to assist them with child rearing and moral support. Providing the Bantu women with appropriate social services and ensuring as much as possible that people belonging to the same social support network are resettled in the same geographic location will assist them in their transition to American society.

In the United States, the Bantu women will be further challenged if they cannot draw upon their extended family and kin networks...

Relations Between Bantu and Other Somalis

Although the Somali population in the United States may not be openly hostile to the Bantu, and in some cases genuinely willing to assist them, service providers should not assume that there will be immediate mutual trust and respect between them. Resettlement professionals should use the same caution and sensitivity with regards to translation and case management with the Bantu and Somalis that they use with other ethnic groups with a history of contentious relations.

Some Basic Af Maay Expressions

Af Maay	English
Bariideena	Good morning.
Nepeda kabariini	Indeed, it's a good morning
Se lakabariyi?	How is everybody this morning?
Faayne	We feel fine
Hergeleena?	How is your day?
See atiing?	How are you feeling?
Faayne	Good
Nepeda kahergelni	We feel fine
Jirinya	I'm sick
Dhuuri Ihaaye	I'm in pain
Mathy dhuury	Head ache
Alooly duury	Stomach ache
Gooy Dhuur	Tooth ache
Maghagha?	What is your name?
Maghaaghey Ali	My name is Ali
Meghaa Jarty	How old are you?
Kooy	Come
Fadheew	Sit down
Fiiry	Look
May subiyoyte?	What are you doing?
Walne	Nothing
Inte anjeede?	Where are you going?
Suuktah anjeede	I'm going to the market
Hunguri amooye	I'm eating food
Inte kukoyti?	Where are you coming from?
Shuqul'aa kukooyi	I'm coming from work
harti	husband
billan	wife
Ilmoogey	my children
dhaloogey	my children
so'	meat
wang	milk
ming	house
shir	meeting
reer	family
Aw	Mr. (for head of the household)
Ay	Ms. (for an older women)
dab	fire

Maalmo Sitimaangk	Days of the Week
Sabtih	Saturday
Ehed	Sunday
Isniing	Monday
Talaadih	Tuesday
Arbaa	Wednesday
Kamiis	Thursday
Jumaa	Friday
Qibliyaalkih	Directions
Barih	East
Orsih (irre-dhiimih)	West
Waaqow	North
Koonfur	South

1	Kow (hal)	1000	Kung
2	Lammih	10,000	Tummung Kung
3	Seddih	50,000	Kontong Kun
4	Afar	100,000	Bogol kung
5	Shang	1,000,000	Hal Milyang / malyuung
6	Li		
7	Todobih		
8	Siyeed		
9	Sagaal		
10	Tummung		
11	Tummung I Kow		
12	Tummung i Lammih		
13	Tummung i Seddih		
14	Tummung i Afar		
20	Labaatung		
30	Soddong		
40	Afartung		
50	Kontong		
60	Lihdung		
70	Todobaatung		
80	Siyeetung		
90	Sagaalung		
100	Bogol		

Bibliography

Besteman, Catherine L. (1999). *Unraveling Somalia: Race, Violence, and the Legacy of Slavery.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Besteman, Catherine L. (1995). *The Invention of Gosha: Slavery, Colonialism, and Stigma in Somali History,* in A. J. Ahmed (ed.), The Invention of Somalia (pp. 43-62). Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press.

Cassanelli, Lee V. (1995). *Victims and Vulnerable Groups in Southern Somalia.* Ottawa: Research Directorate, Documentation, Information and Research Branch, Immigration and Refugee Board.

Cassanelli, Lee V. (1988). The Ending of Slavery in Italian Somalia, in S. Miers & R. Roberts (eds.), *The End of Slavery in Africa* (pp. 308-331). Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Cassanelli, Lee V. (1982). *The Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People, 1600-1900.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Cassanelli, L.V., & Besteman, C. L. (1996). *The Struggle for Land in Southern Somalia: The War Behind the War.* London: Haan Publishing.

Cooper, Frederick. (1977). *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Coupland, R. (1967). *The Exploitation of East Africa.* Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Declich, Francesca. (1995). *Identity, Dance and Islam Among People with Bantu Origin,* in A. J. Ahmed (ed.), *The Invention of Somalia* (pp. 191-222). Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press.

Hess, Robert L. (1966). *Italian Colonialism in Somalia.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

International Organization for Migration (various contributors) (2002). *Somali Bantu Report.* Cultural Orientation Project. Nairobi: Authors.

Kusow, Abdi M. (1994). *The Genesis of the Somali Civil War: A New Perspective.* Journal of Northeast African Studies, 1(1), 31-46.

Lewis, I. M. (1969). *The Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho.* London: International African Institute.

Lovejoy, Paul E. (1983). *Transformations in Slavery. A History of Slavery in Africa.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Luling, Virginia (1994). *The Origins of the 'Jareer' People of the Shebelle: The Implications of Some Rituals.* Paper presented at the Somali Inter-riverine Studies Conference, University of Toronto.

Luling, Virginia (1976). *Colonial and Post-Colonial Influences on a South Somali Community.* Journal of African Studies, 3(1), 491-511. (1971).

Luling, Virginia (1971) *The Social Structure of Southern Somali Tribes.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of London.

Martinot, Steve. (2000). *Introduction: The Double Consciousness,* in A. Memmi (ed.), Racism. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Menkhaus, Kenneth J. (1989). *Rural Transformation and the Roots of Underdevelopment in Somalia's Lower Jubba Valley.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of South Carolina.

Turton, E. R. (1975). *Bantu, Galla and Somali Migrations in the Horn of Africa: A Reassessment of the Juba/Tana Area.* The Journal of African History, 16, 519- 537.

Van Lehman, Dan (2001). *Resettling Somali Bantus May Present Special Challenges.* African Refugee Network, 9(10), 6.

Van Lehman, Dan (1999) *Expanding Protection for Marginalized Refugee Minorities: Resettling Somali Mushungulis to Southeast Africa.* Unpublished master's thesis, Cornell University.

Van Lehman, D. (1993). *Resettlement of the Mushunguli: Somali Refugees of Southeast African Origin.* Paper summarized at the Fifth International Congress of Somali Studies, Holy Cross College, Worcester, MA.

Cultural Orientation Resource Center

The Cultural Orientation Resource Center at the Center (COR) for Applied Linguistics (CAL) works closely with the U.S. government, international organizations, refugee resettlement agencies in the United States, and their representatives overseas to:

- Develop and distribute resources about refugee training and resettlement;
- Provide technical assistance regarding refugees' native cultures, languages, and orientation needs;
- Develop a globally linked network of U.S. refugee service providers that exchanges refugee orientation information, concerns, and best practices.

The Cultural Orientation Resource Center produces Culture Profiles and Phrasebooks to build linguistic and cultural understanding between newly-arrived refugees and their American communities.

Culture Profiles are designed for service providers and individuals assisting newcomers in the United States. They contain a basic introduction to the people, history, and culture of different refugee groups:

The Bosnians	The Iraqi Kurds
The Haitians	The Somalis
The Iraqis	The Afghans
The Montagnards	The Somali Bantu

The first print copy is free to resettlement agencies only. Additional copies may be downloaded from http://www.culturalorientation.net/fact.html, or ordered from CAL for $3.00.

Phrasebooks include phrases, translations, and useful word lists selected for their relevance to the needs of newly arrived residents of the United States. They are available from CAL for $5.00 each.

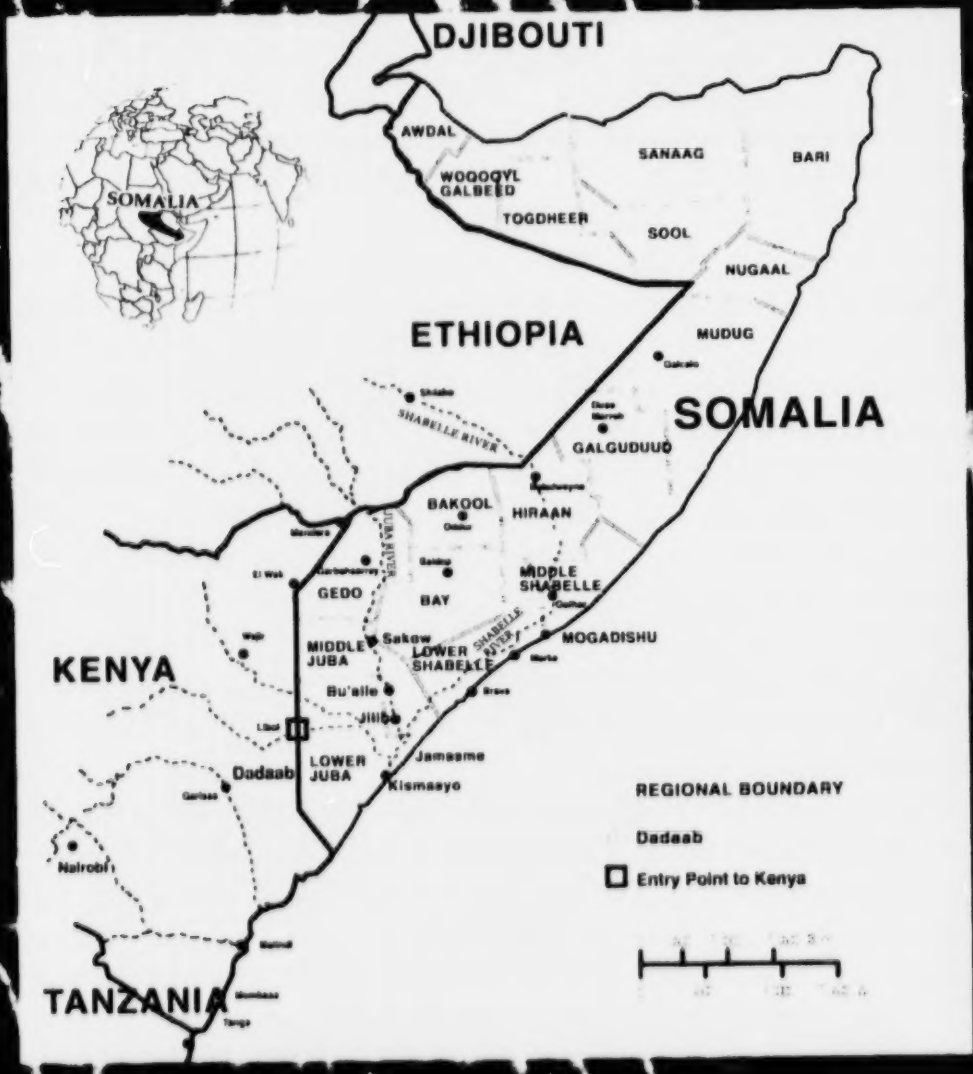
English-Bosnian	English-Russian
English-Chinese	English-Somali
English-Haitian Creole	English-Spanish
English-Farsi	English-Vietnamese

To order publications:

Phone: (202) 362-0700, ext. 231
Fax: (202) 362-3740
Email: cor@cal.org

Cultural Orientation Resource Center
Center for Applied Linguistics
4646 40th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20016

http://www.culturalorientation.net
http://www.cal.org



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

U.S. Department of Education
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI)
National Library of Education (NLE)
Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC)

NOTICE

Reproduction Basis

[X] This document is covered by a signed "Reproduction Release (Blanket)" form (on file within the ERIC system), encompassing all or classes of documents from its source organization and, therefore, does not require a "Specific Document" Release form.

[ ] This document is Federally-funded, or carries its own permission to reproduce, or is otherwise in the public domain and, therefore, may be reproduced by ERIC without a signed Reproduction Release form (either "Specific Document" or "Blanket").